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CATO THE YOUNGER AS A STOIC ORATOR

One of the most important of Cicero's contemporaries was Marcus Porcius Cato, the orator, politician, and patriot, an Optimatus who committed suicide rather than survive the downfall of the Republic. The material on Cato's oratory is scanty; even the details of his career must be inferred, except for Plutarch's biography; and Plutarch's account was undoubtedly influenced by Cato's later reputation. However, we know that from an early age Cato was deeply influenced by Stoic philosophy; he studied with the Stoic Antipater of Tyre, and later he brought Athenodorus, another Stoic teacher, from Asia to live with him in Rome.¹

Cato studied oratory as well as philosophy; Cicero says *dicere didicit a dicendi magistris eorumque more se exercuit*.² Plutarch says that he practised the kind of speaking that was effective with the multitude.³ He made his first public appearance, as a youth, in defense of the *mos maiorum*. The Basilica Porcia, dedicated by his ancestor, Cato the Censor, was attacked by certain tribunes, who wanted to remove a pillar that was

in an inconvenient place. Cato entered the forum to defend the pillar. Plutarch says: "His speech had nothing about it that was juvenile or affected, but was straightforward, full of matter, and harsh. However, a charm that captivated the ear was diffused over the harshness of his sentiments, and the mingling of his character with them gave their austerity a smiling graciousness that won men's hearts."⁴

After this speech Cato devoted himself to study, to his military career, and to his travels. He did not appear on the political stage in Rome until 65 B.C., when he was elected quaestor at the age of thirty. He discharged his duties according to Stoic teachings; he regarded the quaestorship as a responsibility, not just as the beginning of a political career; he mastered Roman public finance, and reformed the Treasury, the administration of which young quaestors usually left to the permanent officials.⁵

Cato's quaestorship gave him the right to join in the Senate's deliberations. Unlike most junior senators, Cato, partly through his noble connections, had unusu-

¹ Plutarch *Cato Minor* 4, 10, 16.

² *Brutus* 119.

³ *Cato Minor* 4, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* 5, 2 (for the quotations from Plutarch I have used the Loeb translation by Perrin.)

⁵ *Ibid.* 16.

al opportunities to speak. We have no record of his speeches, but Cicero's references to Cato's *auctoritas* in the *Pro Murena*, delivered in 63, show that he had already gained prominence.⁶

In the trial of L. Licinius Murena, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, an unsuccessful candidate in the consular election for 62, accused Murena of gaining the consulship by bribery, and Cato joined Sulpicius in the prosecution. Cicero, with Hortensius and Crassus, undertook the defense. Cato had announced in the Senate, either before or during the elections, that he planned to charge the successful candidate with bribery (*Mur.* 62). Cicero says that Cato's speech bristled with Stoic aphorisms: "the sage is never subject to anger"; "he does not withdraw from his position"; "pity is a disgraceful emotion and unworthy of a wise man." His manner of speaking was harsh and indignant, and Cicero says that if he had not been trained by the Stoics, he either would not have said what he did, or would have spoken more tactfully (*Mur.* 64).

Cato's promised accusation was delivered before the jury that sat on Murena's case, and before the *corona*, the auditors who listened to important trials. Cato began by reproaching Cicero for defending a man accused under a law proposed by Cicero himself (*Mur.* 3). It did not accord with inflexibility (*severitas*) for Cicero to drive Catiline out and to defend Murena (*Mur.* 6). Cato also attacked Murena's private life; Cicero says (*Mur.* 13) *saltatorem appellat L. Murenam Cato*. Again, Cato sneered at the Mithridatic war, in which Murena had won his military reputation.

In the specific charges, Cato accused Murena of paying the crowd who welcomed him back to Rome and who accompanied him in his consular campaign, and also of giving voters banquets and free tickets to the games. In Cicero's reply we may find a few sentences that are probably quotations from Cato's accusation. About the crowds that met Murena, Cato said, "Many came out to meet him when he came back from his province. What was that multitude of his?" (*Mur.* 68); about the alleged hired escort Cato said, "What does he need of an escort?" (*Mur.* 70). The longest and most vivid quotation is Cato's attack on Murena for offering "bread and circuses" to the voters: "He [Cato] says it is not right for good will to be wooed by food; he says that men's judgments, when it comes to entrusting high office, ought not to be corrupted by pleasure. . . . 'Indeed,' he says, 'do you seek the supreme power, the foremost prestige, the helm of the state, by caressing men's senses, cajoling their minds, and bringing them delights? Do you seek the post of pander from a pack of gilded youths or the rule of the world from the Roman people?'" (*Mur.* 74).

Cato obviously used his philosophical preoccupations in his speech against Murena. The fact that Cicero ridiculed the Stoics (*Mur.* 62, 65) shows that Cato had employed enough Stoic maxims to make Cicero's parody amusing. Cato's charge that Cicero lacked *severitas* is also Stoic. The care that Cicero takes to protest against Cato's calling Murena names (e.g. *saltator*), and his reproach that Cato picked up insults from the street-corner, both suggest that this is not the sole instance of *vituperatio* in Cato's accusation. Cicero gives evidence that Cato used two rhetorical devices: the rhetorical question, and the comparison. The figure of the gilded youths is a vivid one, calculated to move the jurors in their pride as Roman citizens; it cannot have been unique in Cato's oratory.

A short time later, on the Nones of December, 63, Cato delivered in the Senate a speech urging the death penalty for the Catilinarian conspirators. This speech is reported in Sallust's *Catiline*, is mentioned by Cicero, and is referred to by Velleius Paterculus and by Plutarch. But although the speech is famous, we cannot be sure just what Cato said.

There are inconsistencies between Sallust's report of

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⁶ *Pro Murena* 13, 58, 60.

Cato's speech and the reports of other writers.⁷ Sallust does not mention Cato's attack on Caesar, which Plutarch says was the chief part of the speech;⁸ Velleius Paterculus may be interpreted as supporting Plutarch.⁹ Neither does Sallust mention Cato's praise of Cicero, although Cicero, some years later, says that Cato had praised him highly.¹⁰ In Sallust's version the speech is calm, grave, and reasoned, but Plutarch says, "Cato ... launched at once into a passionate and angry speech"; Velleius Paterculus mentions his *ardor oris*; and Cicero reports that he spoke *vehementer*.¹¹

Ancient historians reported orations according to their own talents and purposes. Sallust had some experience as an orator,¹² and he doubtless used his monographs to exhibit his rhetoric. He suppressed the attack on Caesar, since he supported Caesar; he suppressed the praise of Cicero for literary reasons, to keep the force of his antithesis between Caesar and Cato. Moreover, when Sallust wrote his *Catiline* the Cato legend was already flourishing, and may have influenced Sallust's account.¹³ Sallust does not pretend to quote Cato verbatim; he says that Cato delivered a speech *huiusce modi*.

However, Sallust was a contemporary of Cato, writing for an audience who were also contemporaries of Cato. Moreover, this oration had been written down—the only one of Cato's that had¹⁴—and was available not only to Sallust but also to his readers. For his credit as an historian Sallust cannot have distorted greatly either Cato's matter or his manner. Finally, both in Sallust's *Catiline* and in Cicero's *In Catilinam* iv the report of Caesar's speech is substantially the same; if Sallust reported one speech accurately, he probably did not do major violence to another.

Sallust's report of Cato's speech¹⁵ opens with an appeal to the senators to fear for their lives, menaced by the enemies of the country. Cato then castigated those who care more for their houses, their *objets d'art*, and their pleasures, than for the state. He mentioned his complaints in the Senate about *luxuria atque avaritia* (to which Cicero and Plutarch also testify¹⁶); he spoke of the *severitas* that he exercised equally against himself and others. He then examined the meaning of certain words that had been used by his opponents, pointing

out that in the corruption of Roman society even words had lost their significance.

He next summarized, briefly and unfairly, the arguments of Caesar, the chief spokesman of the opposition; an orator needed skill to give the worst possible interpretation to the opposing arguments. Probably Sallust's version is more favorable to Caesar than the summary Cato actually delivered.

Cato then lauded the *mores maiorum*: industry at home, justice abroad, decisions free from crime or caprice; he contrasted with the *mores maiorum* the degenerate ways of his contemporaries: luxury and greed, public poverty and private wealth, sloth, ambition, selfishness, venality.

After another reference to the danger from the conspirators, he mentioned the folly of men's lying back and waiting for the gods to help them: *non votis neque suppliciis muliebribus auxilia deorum parantur; vigilando, agundo, bene consulendo prospera omnia cedunt*.¹⁷ For an historical reference, he used the story of T. Manlius Torquatus, who had his own son killed for exceeding orders in one of the Gallic wars, even though his disobedient action was militarily successful.

The most striking stylistic feature in Sallust's account is Cato's use of abstract nouns, usually in pairs: *libertas et anima; luxuria atque avaritia; opulentia negligentiam tolerabat; mansuetudo et misericordia; inertia et molitia; socordia atque ignavia*. Sallust's other writing shows that he himself uses abstractions, but the concentration of abstract words is characteristic also of Cato's letter to Cicero (*Fam.* xv. 5), and it seems to have been characteristic of Stoic philosophy.

In style, the speech conforms to Stoic principles of plain writing. Cato—or Sallust—uses few rhetorical devices: chiasmus is rare, and there is not a single metaphor. However, Cato used biting, even savage, irony against both the senators and the conspirators.

In substance, the speech conforms to the Stoic doctrines that Cicero referred to in the *Pro Murena*: castigation of vices, praise of the *mores maiorum*, *severitas* toward oneself and others, the necessity of man's solving his problems without recourse to the gods. The speech also shows Cato's interest in the meaning of words—a concern peculiarly Stoic. The choice of Torquatus for historical allusion suggests Roman *severitas* and the Stoic doctrine that the sage is moved by no emotion.

The success of this speech against the Catilinarian conspirators established Cato as leader of the Optimates.¹⁸ In the following years, although he was a junior senator, he delivered many speeches. Gellius says that although the senators usually spoke according to seniority, during

⁷ Hans Schnorr von Carolsfeld, *Ueber die Reden und Briefe bei Sallust* (Leipzig, 1888), p. 39.

⁸ *Cato Minor* 23.

⁹ Velleius Paterculus ii. 35. 3.

¹⁰ *Att.* xii. 21. 1.

¹¹ *Pro Sestio* 61.

¹² He was one of the tribunes who opposed Cicero at the time of Milo's trial (*Asconius Mil.* 33).

¹³ T. R. S. Broughton, "Was Sallust Fair to Cicero?", *TAPA*, LXVII (1936), 43-44.

¹⁴ *Cato Minor* 23.

¹⁵ Sallust, *Catiline* 52.

¹⁶ *Cato Minor* 19; *Att.* ii. 1. 8.

¹⁷ Sallust, *Catiline* 52. 29.

¹⁸ L. R. Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (Berkeley, 1949), p. 127.

the Republic the order of debate was not inflexible.¹⁹ Perhaps the rank-and-file consulars and praetorians of the Optimate party delegated their precedence to Cato.

In defending the Optimate position and in resisting innovations Cato developed the technique of filibustering.²⁰ His first filibuster, in 61, opposed the request of the *publicani* for a revision of their contracts in Asia. Cato refused over a period of months to let the Senate settle the matter.²¹ In the following year Caesar, returning from his propraetorship, wanted both a triumph and the consulship, but since the law demanded that candidates must appear in person within the city, he requested the Senate to make an exception in his case. Cato opposed the request, and spoke throughout the whole of the last day on which Caesar could announce his candidacy. Caesar had to forego his triumph. Cato was less successful during Caesar's consulship, when he tried to block one of Caesar's measures. He began to speak at length, but Caesar had him arrested and led off to prison;²² though Cato was released almost at once, the bill was passed. Gellius explains how such filibustering was possible: under the rules of the Senate a senator, asked for his opinion, could first speak on whatever subject he wished, and at whatever length. Cicero calls this kind of obstructionism an accepted practice, and remarks on Cato's skill in it.²³

After the Triumvirate had gained control, Cato's opposition was so vigorous that Caesar hesitated to leave him in Rome when he himself went to Gaul, and arranged to send him on a mission to Cyprus; but after Cato returned he found even more to fight. He played upon his audience's fears; some of Plutarch's reports of his speeches sound like the warnings of an Old Testament prophet. He foretold the consequences of Caesar's Gallic command; when extraordinary provincial commands were proposed for Pompey and Crassus, "as if inspired from heaven, he foretold all that would happen to their city."²⁴ In his opposition to Pompey and Crassus he again filibustered, this time in the *comitia*; he spoke for two hours, and when he was dragged from the rostra, he continued to shout and found men to listen to him.²⁵ In this rough-and-tumble fight, Cato displayed not only courage and endurance, but the ability to rouse and hold an audience. After Caesar's slaughter of the Usipetes and the Tencteri, Cato proposed to hand Caesar over to the Germans as a punishment for breaking the truce. Caesar wrote to the Senate, denouncing Cato. Then "Cato rose to his feet and showed, not in anger or contentiousness, but as

if from calculation and due preparation, that the accusations against him bore the marks of abuse and scoffing, and were childishness and vulgarity on Caesar's part. Then assailing Caesar's plans from the outset . . . he declared that it was not the sons of Germans or Celts whom they must fear, but Caesar himself."²⁶ One of Cato's last speeches in Rome opposed Caesar's standing *in absentia* for his second consulship; Caesar said that Cato, according to his long-standing custom, spent the whole day speaking.²⁷

The Civil War stopped the oratorical battles in the Senate and before the people, but Plutarch reports Cato's speech to the troops at Dyrrhachium: "When Cato . . . had rehearsed with genuine emotion all the appropriate sentiments to be drawn from philosophy concerning freedom, virtue, death and fame, and finally passed into an invocation of the gods as eye-witnesses of their struggle in behalf of their country, there was such a shouting and so great a stir among the soldiers thus aroused that all the commanders were full of hope."²⁸ This is a curious speech to deliver to an audience of soldiers, but Cato's oratory achieved its aim with the troops.

Cato's own work survives only in a single letter to Cicero, explaining why he did not support Cicero's desire for a *supplicatio*.²⁹ He wrote it in answer to Cicero's detailed account of his exploits in Cilicia. The style is in sharp contrast to Cicero's.

In the first sentence Cato mentions *virtus*, *innocentia*, *diligentia*, and *industria*; in the body of the letter, *ratio et continentia*, *mansuetudo et innocentia*; in the closing sentence he urges on Cicero a continuance of *severitas* and *diligentia*. None of these words is in itself unusual, but the concentration of abstract nouns is striking.

Cato tries to console Cicero by telling him that it is more distinguished for the Senate to decree that a province had been saved by the clemency and uprightness of its governor than by force of arms and the favor of the gods. Cato adds that this was the gist of his speech in the Senate. The sentiment recalls the Stoic approval of virtue and Sallust's account of Cato's plea that the senators bestir themselves, instead of relying on the gods.

The letter has stylistic art: Cato employs chiasmus, alliteration, and periodic sentences. But he uses no metaphor, and the letter is abrupt, though friendly. It is brief, especially as a reply to Cicero's long one, but even so Cato says *haec ego . . . contra consuetudinem meam pluribus scripsi*; this suggests that his *brevitas* in his other writings was even greater. *Brevitas* seems a surprising characteristic in a man who could speak all day, but *brevitas* to the Stoics meant saying what was neces-

¹⁹ Gellius iv. 10.

²⁰ P. Groebe, "Die Obstruktion im römischen Senat," *Klio*, V (1905), 229-35.

²¹ *Att.* i. 18. 7.

²² Dio Cassius xxxviii. 3; *Cato Minor* 33; Valerius Maximus ii. 10. 7; Gellius iv. 10. 8; Appian *BC* ii. 11.

²³ *De legibus* iii. 40.

²⁴ *Cato Minor* 33; 42. 2.

²⁵ *Ibid.* 43.

²⁶ *Ibid.* 51.

²⁷ *Bellum civile* i. 32.

²⁸ *Cato Minor* 54. 5-6.

²⁹ *Fam.* xv. 5.

sary and no more; doubtless Cato believed that all-day speeches were, on occasion, necessary.

Cicero, although he deplores Cato's Stoic rigidity,³⁰ shows a high opinion of his eloquence, and praises his ability to make philosophical *sententiae* acceptable not only to the Senate, but even to the people. There is nothing so incredible, so prickly, and so uncouth, Cicero says, that it cannot be illuminated by eloquence, and Cato, while he discussed the soul, virtue, death, the gods, and patriotism, used the adornments of oratory.³¹ Significantly, Cicero chose Cato as the exponent of Stoicism in the *De finibus*.

The letter to Caesar *De re publica*, now generally ascribed to Sallust,³² gives a further notice about Cato. Sallust, after castigating the Optimates for inefficiency and inertia, admits that Cato has *ingenium versutum, loquax, callidum*.³³ He implies that while Cato's statecraft was deplorable, his talents were outstanding.

We can see that Cato often used Stoic maxims, as Cicero, Sallust, and his own letter show. Lucidity, the chief virtue of the Stoic style, is admirably illustrated in his letter. The Stoic belief in the orator's mission to instruct his audience rather than to move or to delight is demonstrated by Cato's warnings against innovation. Cato's interest in the Stoics' effort to bring language into harmony with nature—the Stoics' infallible guide—may be inferred, for neither Sallust nor Plutarch gives any evidence of pomposity or triviality; Cato himself chooses words and constructions of gravity and weight. His interest in the correct use of words, another Stoic preoccupation, is shown both in the *De finibus* and in Sallust's report of the speech against the Catilinarians. He could also be witty: Caesar alone, he remarked, came sober to the task of overthrowing the state.³⁴

Cato tried to convey to others his own deep concern with Roman politics. In this respect he departed from the Stoic doctrine of *apatheia*. Sallust shows that he appealed to fear; Plutarch shows that he appealed to patriotism and love of freedom; Cicero shows that he was both fearless and eloquent. Cato had *auctoritas*; the impact of his life, even translated into legend, has not yet faded. Surely a major factor in his impact on the world was his ability to move his fellow-citizens, and to make them feel, even briefly, that the life of civic virtue was the *summum bonum* of the Roman.

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EPICURUS: THE SUMMUM BONUM FALLACY

The aim of this writing is to show how the lack of a definite article in Latin obliterated the doctrine of Epicurus that life itself and not pleasure is the greatest good. It will also be shown how the recovered doctrine serves to explain certain verses of Maecenas.

Epicurus is on record as assuming that "only Greeks are capable of succeeding in philosophy,"¹ and Philodemus wrote:² "The only men we know to have become wise employed some Greek tongue." This view was a matter of patriotism with Epicurus, and he went so far as to denounce certain philosophers of Cyzicus, who sponsored the introduction of astral gods from the Orient, as "enemies of Hellas."³ These strange gods, it will be remembered, were spherical in shape, not even anthropomorphic, much less capable of speaking Greek. That the gods were held to speak some form of Greek is certified by the testimony of Philodemus.⁴

This involvement of language with philosophy and patriotism dominated the mind of Lucretius also. It is not likely that he was unaware of the views of Epicurus. Interpreted flatly, these would have signified that no one whose language was Latin could become a wise man or really philosophize. So far from being deterred, however, Lucretius viewed his difficulties as a challenge, and manifestly found huge enjoyment in wrestling with the rigidities of his native tongue. His references to its poverty, *egestas*, suggest rather the joy of combat than lamentation.⁵

A similar association of language with philosophy and patriotism reappears in Cicero. His pride as a Roman seems to have been stung by the attitude of Lucretius, and it is surely no mere coincidence that the surrounding context is Epicurean where he makes his rejoinder:⁶ "This is my judgment, and I have often aired it, that the Latin language is not only not lacking in copiousness but is actually richer than Greek."

The absurdity of this claim is demonstrated by the lack of the definite article alone. In Greek the end or *telos* of an art or activity is called "the good" of that art or activity. Life itself is an activity, and its *telos* is above all others "the good." Thus the *telos* and "the good" are equivalents.

¹ Fr. 226 (Usener).

² *On the Gods* iii. col. 14. lines 12-13 (ed. Diels; = *Abh. d. königl. preuss. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, Jahrg. 1916, Phil.-hist. Klasse, No. 4 [Berlin, 1917], p. 37).

³ Diog. Laert. x. 8. Editors emend "Cyzicenes" to "Cynics," but E. Bignone has rightly defended the MSS (*L'Aristotele perduto* [Florence, 1936], II, 76-80).

⁴ *Op. cit.* (note 2, above), iii. col. 14. lines 6-12.

⁵ Lucr. i. 136-39, 830-32, iii. 258-61.

⁶ *De fin.* i. 10.

³⁰ E.g., *Att.* ii. 1. 8; i. 18. 7.

³¹ *Brutus* 118-19; *Paradoxa Stoicorum*, Praef. 1-3.

³² Taylor, *op. cit.* (note 18, above), pp. 185-86.

³³ Sallust *De re publica* epist. 9. 3.

³⁴ Suetonius *Caes.* 53; cf. Quintilian *Inst. orat.* viii. 2. 9.

For neither of these is there an equivalent in Latin. So translators adopted *summum bonum* as a makeshift. Its demerit is ambiguity, and through this the fallacy originated. In Greek the practice is to say "the greatest good" and not "the highest good," and to Epicurus "the greatest good" was not pleasure but life itself. In other words, to him the *summum bonum* was not the *telos*.

This doctrine was an integral part of a logical context. To Plato and Aristotle life was an imprisonment of the soul in the body, and death was a release. The youthful Aristotle went so far as to compare the union of soul with body to the Etruscan cruelty of lashing a corpse to a living being, which Virgil has described for us.⁷ Epicurus, holding body and soul to be alike corporeal, placed the two on a parity, and one of his definitions of happiness is "a healthy mind in a healthy body."⁸ Moreover, denying both pre-existence and immortality, he was bound to see all values concentrated within the brief span of mortal life. Thus life itself became "the greatest good."

Epicurus had no patience with Platonic dialectic; he said there were "two kinds of inquiry, the one about realities and the other about sheer verbiage."⁹ It was his determination to dethrone reason and set up Nature as the norm. The feelings, for instance, were one of Nature's criteria. In order to identify "the greatest good" he instituted a simple test. The greatest good is bound to be associated with the greatest pleasure or joy. Now, no joy is greater than the escape, let us say, from imminent shipwreck. This joy results from the preservation of life. Life, therefore, is the greatest good. The pertinent text is as follows:¹⁰ "That which causes the unsurpassable joy is the bare escape from some awful calamity, and this is the nature of 'good,' if one apprehends it rightly and then stands by his finding, instead of walking around uselessly and harping on the meaning of 'good.'"

Recognition of life as "the greatest good" is on record in *Vatican Collection* 42: "The same span of time embraces both beginning and end of the greatest good." The meaning of this is not obscure. It marks life as limited by birth and death. It denies both pre-existence and survival of the soul, and is a contradiction of Plato, who sponsored both these doctrines. Editors, however, misled by the *summum bonum* fallacy, feel bound that "the greatest good" shall be pleasure, and consequently emend

the text, producing a sentence genuinely obscure,¹¹ which need not concern us.

Other confirmatory passages are citable. The "desirability of life" is mentioned as a reason for placing a higher value upon old age as against youth,¹² contrary to a prevailing opinion. The same feeling motivates the scorn expressed for a dictum of Theognis:¹³ "A good thing it is never to have been born or, being born, to have passed with all speed through the gates of Hades." The supreme value placed upon life determines also the attitude toward suicide (*Vatican Collection* 38): "Small is the man from every point of view who discovers many plausible reasons for taking leave of life."

This doctrine of Epicurus furnished philosophy with a perennial topic. He thought of life as a voyage¹⁴ or a journey¹⁵ in which the wise man should always find a balance of pleasure over pain.¹⁶ Suicide in his opinion was not a dereliction of duty, but the abandonment of an opportunity to enjoy happiness to the fullest degree. In the second of his books *On Lives* he is reported as saying:¹⁷ "But even if deprived of his sight, [the wise man] will not turn aside from the journey of life." It is from this point that Cicero discusses the topic, and that too with specific mention of Epicurus, in the *Tusculan Disputations*,¹⁸ where he extends it to include loss of hearing.

Once the ball had been started to roll the temptation presented itself to go on through the list of deprivations, as in the sorites syllogism, and this is exactly what happened. Life being the greatest good, the question takes the shape, At what stage of deprivation would it lose all value? The answer came from Maecenas:¹⁹

debilem facito manu, debilem pede coxo,
tuber adstrue gibberum, lubricos quate dentes,
vita dum superest, bene est; hanc mihi vel acuta
si sedeam cruce, sustine.

The beginning of the poem is lacking; only the lines that horrified Seneca are quoted. It may be assumed that Maecenas ran through the list of deprivations, working his way up to a climax.

The advice of Epicurus to his disciples is well known:²⁰ "The injuries men inflict arise from hatred, envy, and contempt, over all of which the wise man is able to pre-

⁷ Arist. fr. 60 (Rose); *Aen.* viii. 485-88.

⁸ Not citable in Greek, but demonstrable: cf. Horace *Carm.* i. 31. 17-19; Juvenal x. 356 *mens sana in corpore sano* (Epicurean context); Petron. 61 *bonam mentem bonamque valetudinem*.

⁹ Diog. Laert. x. 34.

¹⁰ Fr. 423 (Usener); Plutarch *Moralia* 1091B.

¹¹ C. Bailey, *Epicurus* (Oxford, 1926), p. 382, *ad loc.*

¹² Diog. Laert. x. 126.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Vatican Collection* 17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 48.

¹⁶ *Kuriat dorai* 4.

¹⁷ Diog. Laert. x. 119. Text dubious, meaning fairly clear: it is recommended to read *metascin*.

¹⁸ v. 110-17.

¹⁹ Text of Paul Lunderstedt, *De C. Maecenatis Fragmentis* (Leipzig, 1911; = *Comment. Philol. Jenenses*, Vol. IX, Fasc. 1), pp. 35-36 and notes; *coxo* means *claudo*.

²⁰ Diog. Laert. x. 117.

vail by calculation," that is, by a calculated course of conduct. It was the deliberate choice of Maecenas, who was perilously placed, to deflect the jealousy of enemies by studiously cultivating effeminacy in his manner of living, his dress, deportment, and even in his style of writing.²¹ It was deemed insufficient to refuse all the trappings of political office; it seemed imperative also to baffle hostility by adopting a way of life completely incongruous with the seeking of office. By this means he sought "peace and safety." Of this elaborate camouflage the poem was a part. As philosophy it was sheer whimsy, though incidentally planned for deception. It deceived Seneca.

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DE LITTERAE F APVD VETERES PRONVNTIATIONE

Quamquam omnium consensu littera F eandem crediderit habuisse potestatem apud Romanos quam nostris diebus inter nostrates, tamen perpauca extant testimonia huius litterae a veteribus pronuntiatae. Attamen ex veteribus scriptoribus qui summatim hanc rem tractaverunt unus, nec parvi momenti, doctorum virorum diligentiam elusisse mihi videtur. Apuleium dico, cuius in *Metamorphoseon* fabellis, modo si has non spreveris inspicere, hominem in asinum conversum invenies, qui hanc litteram pronuntiare strenue enititur, frustra vero, sed non sine rationis pronuntiandi admodum certis indiciis. Sed ne longius in hoc haereamus, videamus quid habeat Apuleius noster.

Lucius quidam (hoc enim fictum nomen Apuleius fabularum narratori induerat) ex homine in speciem asinariam reformatus a nequissimis quibusdam latronibus scelesti criminis arguitur, quos redarguere appetit his fere verbis: "Denique ne mala conscientia tam scelesto crimini praesens viderer silentio consentire, hoc tantum impatentia perductus volui dicere 'Non feci.' Et verbum quidem praecedens semel ac saepius immodice clamitavi, sequens vero nullo pacto disserere potui, sed in prima remansi voce, et identidem boavi 'Non, non,' quamquam nimia rotunditate pendulas vibrassem labias" (*Metam.* lib. VII, cap. 3).

Ex his verbis quid manifestius elucere potest quam Apuleii tempestate litteram F (verbi "fecit" elementum primum) longe ab F hodierna discrepasse, propioreque fuisse litterae graecae phi, aut duobus coniunctis sonis BH, e quibus F latinam saepenumero defluisse omnibus probatum habetur? Nam nihil omnino adhi-

bitur de superis dentibus, nihil de labro inferiore adpresso aut impresso aut depresso, ut apud inferioris aetatis grammaticos Terentianum Maurum, Marium Victorinum, Martianum Capellam (hi enim testes saepius¹ laudantur) invenimus. Quintilianus certe propius ad sensum accessit, cum obscurus dixisset sextam litteram "paene non humana voce, vel omnino non voce potius, inter discrimina dentium effandam" (Quint. XII. 10. 29).

Obiiciat forsitan quispiam Apuleium, exotici sermonis rudem locutorem, facete aut iocose aut per ludibrium aut hilaritatis causa et ad risum excitandum aut saltem casu tantum huiusmodi asininitates narrationi suae intexuisse. Talia animadvertenti facile responderim, etsi sciam lib. III cap. 24 nascentis asini labiarum pendularum iam factam esse mentionem, tamen longe notabilius esse silentium eiusdem tertii libri cap. 29, ubi eadem eloquendi difficultas tractatur, nulla pronuntiationis mentione facta. Quem casum sic legimus: "Nomen augustum Caesaris invocare temptavi, et 'O' quidem tantum disertum ac validum clamitavi, reliquum autem Caesaris nomen enuntiare non potui." Caesaris nomen re vera littera C incipiebat, quam describere Apuleius aut nolebat aut nequibat.

Quamobrem credibilis mihi denique videtur Apuleium caute et curiose laboravisse ut quemadmodum litterae F sonus proferretur exprimeret, neque puto nobis quaeritantibus de tam difficili sonorum latinorum discrimine haec amoenissimi scriptoris verba silentio praetereunda esse.

JACOBVS V. RICIVS

ATHENIS OHIOENSIVM

ORATORS OF ROME AND BRITAIN

In a review in the *New York Herald Tribune* for February 11, 1950 of the recent reprinting in book form (Whittlesey) of Winston S. Churchill's essay, "Painting as a Pastime" (originally published in 1932 as part of a volume entitled *Amid These Storms*), John K. Hutchens quotes two particularly fine passages. The first of these he pronounces clearly written by "a man working up an oratorical style very handy for some future national crisis," and the second he characterizes as "even more prophetic of the rolling rhythms that would cheer a countryman or flatten a foe." This second passage has a familiar ring for the classicist. It runs as follows: "Painting is a friend who makes no undue demands, excites to no exhausting pursuits, keeps faithful pace even with feeble steps, and holds her canvas as a screen

²¹ Seneca *Epist.* 114. 4-11; Lunderstedt, *op. cit.* (note 19, above), pp. 18-32.

¹ E. H. Sturtevant, *The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin* (2d ed.; Philadelphia, 1940), pp. 160 f.; R. G. Kent, *The Sounds of Latin* (3rd ed.; Baltimore, Md., 1945), p. 56.

between us and the envious eyes of Time or the surly advance of Decrepitude."

Churchill may not have had what his compatriots considered a thorough classical education, but it is safe to assume that he was made to read considerably more Latin than the average American high school student of his time (or the average American college student of ours!). And very likely he had memorized, as so many of us did in our school-days, one particularly noble passage from another orator whose style was "very handy" in more than one national crisis. I refer of course to the well-known lines in Cicero's *Archias* (7. 16): *haec studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solacium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.*

E. ADELAIDE HAHN

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REVIEWS

The Greek and Roman Pottery. By HANNAH DOROTHY COX. ("The Excavations at Dura-Europos," Final Report IV, Part I, Fasc. 2.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. Pp. vi, 26; 6 plates. \$1.00.

The Bronze Objects. By TERESA G. FRISCH and N. P. TOLL. ("The Excavations at Dura-Europos," Final Report IV, Part IV, Fasc. 1.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. Pp. viii, 69; 17 plates. \$2.00.

Part I, Fascicle 2 of the fourth of the scheduled Final Reports on Dura-Europos comprises all the pottery with the exception of the green glazed ware discussed in the first fascicle by N. P. Toll. The author gives a short introduction in which she says her material is "disappointing. Few whole pots are found, and none of exceptional interest or beauty." She nevertheless gives a careful catalogue, not in details, but in types of vessels found, separating the imported wares (black glaze pottery, red glaze ware, and late Roman wares) from local wares (grey, red wash, and red burnished). Each type is illustrated with a profile drawn by Dr. Toll at one-half actual size, and characteristic examples are given on the plates.

Miss Cox's conclusions (pp. 25 f.) agree with those drawn for the economic history of Dura-Europos from a study of the buildings by F. E. Brown in Preliminary Report VI, and from the study of the coins by M. Ros-tovtzeff, *Dura-Europos and Its Art* (Oxford, 1938). The earliest pottery was brought in by the Greek settlers about 300 B.C. Hellenistic ware was used down to the Parthian conquest in 114 B.C.; then local potters produced

Parthian pottery and green glazed ware. In 165 A.D. Dura became Roman, and in the last period, until the city was abandoned in, or soon after, 256 A.D., Roman ware was imported.

It is interesting to compare Miss Cox's report with the much more extensive, much richer, but related material by Frances Follin Jones in *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus*, edited by Hetty Goldman (Princeton, 1950), I, 149-296, and plates 119-210. Here the arrangement is strictly chronological, the local ware following each contemporary group.

Fascicle 1 of Part IV, of the same final report, comprises the pierced bronzes, discussed by Teresa G. Frisch, and the enameled bronzes and the fibulae, discussed by N. P. Toll. Each part again has an introduction and a careful catalogue. All ninety-five pierced bronzes are illustrated on plates I-VII, while all lockets and the fibulae, with the exception of duplicates, are to be found on the remaining plates.

The introduction to the pierced bronzes is very valuable, and can almost be accepted as a special investigation, long overdue, for this important group of ornaments. It discusses the various finding places, which are chiefly in other Roman provinces: Germany, Austria, Hungary, the Balkans, and England, the most important being the Roman camps on the Rhine and Danube *limites*. The very pleasing designs, of mixed floral and geometric motifs, are admirably described. Their origin from a mingling of Greek and Celtic tradition, with superposed Roman and central Asiatic trends, is cleverly traced. Thus the path from the Greek palmette to the semilunar design of provincial Roman art was influenced by Celtic simplification. The center of production of these openwork bronzes is rightly sought in Gaul.

The detailed description of the single pierced bronzes is a difficult task, excellently solved by Miss Frisch. She remarks on the fact that in the best pieces, among them the silver phalera (pl. VII), the design and the interval pattern are of equal importance (p. 5).

There are few animal motifs to be found in Dura. The most interesting, a dog and a hare (pp. 21 f., No. 54, pl. V), is discussed at length, and the parallels are enumerated. The one mentioned as being in the Museum of Kassel has been published by the reviewer (M. Bieber, *Die antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des königl. Museum Fredericianum in Cassel* [Marburg, 1915], p. 99, No. 478, pl. LVI). I believe that more ornaments than the authors realize are late derivations from animal forms. Thus No. 55 (p. 22, pl. V) seems to be a dolphin with a wide-open mouth. Compare the sea horses in I. Sellye, *Les bronzes émaillés de la Pannonie romaine* (Budapest, 1939), plate XIII, No. 28, and Bieber, *op. cit.*, page 100, No. 481, plate LVI. The heads on the razor handles (p. 33, Nos. 94-95, pl. VII) seem to me to be panthers, not dogs. Only panthers and

griffins are known to me in this place. (See Bieber, *op. cit.*, p. 110, No. 628, with list of parallels.) Among the fibulae, the rhomboid (p. 41, No. 24, pl. IX) seems to this reviewer to be derived from a tortoise. Compare Bieber, *op. cit.*, page 100, Nos. 482-83, plate LVI, and other examples there cited.

The lockets discussed by Mr. Toll (pp. 37-39, illustrated on pl. VIII) are explained by him as intended to contain some medical, prophylactic, or magical substance. The holes in the back indicate, he believes, that the physical or magical properties of the contents emanated from these. He rightly refutes the former explanation that the objects are seal-boxes. I believe both explanations to be wrong. It is my suggestion that the lockets are shoe-buckles of soldiers; the holes are for the straps or thongs of the sandals. For this interpretation speak wide openings at the sides, too wide for a medical or magical substance (cf. for example Sellye, *op. cit.*, pl. XV, No. 35). Against both former explanations stands the wide spread of these lockets on the one hand, and the finding places in camps, on fortress walls, and the like, on the other. The buckles were not mere ornaments, but functioned to hold the shoe straps together. That they easily opened and thus got lost in a great number of cases is not to be wondered at. If they had been lockets for magical purposes, they would have been worn by women and children more than by soldiers, or at any rate just as much. We must not assume that all soldiers were superstitious and wore amulets.

The fibulae are of course the most numerous among the finds. The crossbow fibulae agreeing in form with the Rhenish-Gallic examples found along the German *limes* are present in the largest quantity, which is natural, since this was the prevalent type during the last period of Dura, in the first half of the third century (pp. 51-61, Nos. 31-119, pls. XI-XV).

Like all publications of the Dura excavations, the two fascicles are beautifully printed and illustrated. The only mistake this reviewer found is on page 46, line 3, which reads "123 and 125," instead of "123-125."

MARGARETE BIEBER

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Musonius Rufus en de Griekse Diatribe. By A. C. VAN GEYTENBEEK. Amsterdam: Uitgeverij H. J. Paris, 1949. Pp. vii, 203. 6 guilders.

Musonius Rufus is a name which will doubtless evoke recognition in the minds of most classical students, yet his rescue from the limbo of fragments cited by later compilers is recent enough to make a brief statement of his place and time in Roman history and Stoic philosophy not unwelcome to readers of this

journal. The fragments were first collected by the Dutch scholar, J. V. Peerkamp, in 1822, but not until the end of the century began the more intensive study of Musonius, culminating in the (now almost inaccessible) edition of Otto Hense (Leipzig, 1905).

Musonius, of equestrian census, came of a distinguished Etruscan family. He was closely associated with the most prominent opponents of imperial tyranny, and a victim, by banishment, of Nero's hatred. As a philosopher of the Stoic sect he became the most distinguished teacher of the later years of the century, and Epictetus, his greatest pupil, cites his sayings and refers to him always with deep devotion. Because of his blameless life and his mode of teaching he is in our record repeatedly compared with Socrates. What we may call his works, preserved for us chiefly in the *Eclogae* of Stobaeus, are typical problems of private and social ethics, and only rarely touch upon theoretical questions, as in the second extract, "That man is born to the pursuit of Virtue." It will be of interest to our era of coeducation to note the two short essays: "That woman as well as man should pursue the study of Philosophy," and "That daughters as well as sons should be educated." Again, "On the true end of Marriage," "That Rulers should be trained in Philosophy," "That Exile is not an evil," etc. These themes, twenty-one in all, are treated in language direct and simple, recalling not infrequently the manner and thought of Xenophon in relation to Socrates.

As in the case of Epictetus, so with Musonius, the discourses are recorded by a pupil, one Lucius, who, however, seems to have been by nature or by choice a much tamer reporter of his master than Arrian of Epictetus. Here there is little of the vigor and nervous animation of Epictetus, which from other reports we should be inclined to expect in the personal language of Musonius. One can scarcely repress the suspicion that "Lucius" was not unaffected by current Atticism and its dominant *apheleia*. It is generally held that Musonius wrote nothing, though good ancient sources assign to him "treatises having to do with philosophy, and letters" (Suidas, s.v. *Mousonios* [Adler, III, p. 416, lines 10-11]). In fact the ninth extract still preserves distinct traces of epistolary form.

As for the treatise of Geytenbeek, which furnishes the occasion for this brief notice of Musonius, it consists of an introductory chapter on the problems presented by the fragments of Stobaeus—the life of the philosopher, the identity of the narrator, and a review of earlier investigations from Peerkamp down to the more penetrating studies of Wendland, Hense, and other scholars stimulated by them. The second chapter discusses the philosophical background of the practical Stoicism (tempered by Cynic influences) which Musonius presents—a learned and useful survey. These

two chapters are followed by a detailed examination of the separate topics presented in each one of the *Eclogae*, with citation and comparison of related treatment of the same themes drawn from a wide range of other sources. They constitute in fact an instructive running commentary on the text of Musonius.

The book as a whole is a valuable addition to our understanding of the philosopher, and, though it is not marked by any important or novel points of view, yet it should prove of much service to any student seeking a more intimate acquaintance with the popular Stoicism of the time, as found in Seneca, Persius, Dio, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and others. For the less specialized student, even of classical interests, the book can scarcely be recommended as an introduction, whether to Musonius or to his philosophy: the detail is too great, not to mention two hundred pages of a language considerably harder than it looks. But Musonius, regardless of his kinship with others, is well worth reading for himself. The language too (whether his own or his pupil's) has a certain ingenuous charm which lends force and significance to his teaching. For such readers, whether they read Musonius in Greek or in English, the desideratum is a text and translation such as is afforded by the recent edition of Dr. Cora Lutz of Wilson College, issued separately from Volume X of the *Yale Classical Studies*, bearing the title *Musonius Rufus, the Roman Socrates* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947).

G. L. HENDRICKSON

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Roman Declamation in the Late Republic and Early Empire. By S. F. BONNER. Liverpool: University Press, 1949. Pp. viii, 183. 12s. 6d.

Though attracted to the study of Roman declamations by their legal aspect, the author has kept that interest in perspective, and has produced a volume which deserves the attention of non-specialist and specialist alike. The first two chapters trace origins and development to the time of Seneca the Elder, while the other six, relating specifically to the Senecan corpus, treat of procedure, rhetorical characteristics, judgment of the discipline by ancient critics, laws, and the mutual influence of literature and declamation.

Without parade of scholarship, Mr. Bonner shows himself conversant with a vast range of original source material and critical commentary. Merely to restate or synthesize the latter, often buried in dissertations or foreign journals not readily accessible, would have been a useful service; discriminating appraisal, such as he provides, is clearly much more valuable.

Deserving of special mention are his categories of

philosophical theses and his suggestions concerning their influence on Senecan *controversiae*; the lucid explanation of *stasis*, *status*; the passages bearing on development of specialized declamatory terminology; the analysis of scholarly opinion (highly controversial) about the practical value of declamation; and all of the seventh chapter (on literary criticism, quotation, and allusion in the declamations) that deals with major authors.

The survey of laws in the Senecan collection bears the most individual impress, and is most at variance with received opinion. The writer's standpoint may be thus stated in his own words: "... when Roman evidence exists, it seems misguided to stress the Greek parallels." He is able to adduce few correspondences with contemporary legislation or edict, except where the *controversiae* concern crimes against the state or person punishable in any civilized society. He does, however, break new ground in citing earlier Roman enactments or texts from the *Digest* of Justinian which are either identical with a declamatory law or close enough to justify the presumption that it belonged to an intermediate stage of development. He thus makes out a strong case for Roman background in connection with ingratitude, the *optio raptae*, five-year exile for involuntary homicide, prohibition against aiding an exile *tecto et cibo*, the justified killing of both adulteress and adulterer, justified divorce after five years for sterility, recovery of an exposed child only on repayment of the expenses of *alimenta*, and legitimization of a child borne by a slave mother. Despite his expressed doubt, I believe that the same technique could be applied to a still larger proportion of pseudo-Quintilian's *Declamationes Minores*.

The extensive bibliography should be of great value to scholars interested in rhetorical studies. Summaries of chapters and sections appear rather unsystematically, but at points where they are really useful. Typography is good and misprints are surprisingly few.

CHARLES S. RAYMENT

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Aphrodite: The Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite and The Pervigilium Veneris. Translated into English by F. L. LUCAS. Cambridge: At the University Press, 1948. Pp. vii, 53. \$1.75.

This attractive little volume brings together two translations which were published separately by the Golden Cockerel Press in 1948 and 1939 respectively. The Greek and Latin texts, beautifully printed, face the English versions, and each poem is prefaced by an essay written with Lucas' customary charm and penetration.

Of the two renderings, that of the *Homeric Hymn* seems to me the more successful, and I hope Mr. Lucas will go on to translate at least the hymns to

Demeter and to Delian Apollo—for these poems, despite their pictorial beauty and their religious interest, have attracted few competent translators. Only quotation from his rendering of the *Hymn* can suggest how successfully Mr. Lucas communicates the grace and swiftness of the original measures.

Over the hill, to the neatherds' byre, she passed; and
as she came,
The grey wolves followed, fawning, and lions with eyes
on flame,
And bears, and lightfoot leopards, devourers of the
deer.
The Goddess smiled to see them; and on all, both far
and near,
She cast her lure of longing—back to their forest-dens,
Pair by pair, they vanished, down the darkness of
the glens.

Rhyme, which I find anathema in translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, seems to suit the softer prettiness of these minor poems.

In translating the *Pervigilium Veneris*, Mr. Lucas, unlike most recent editors, has kept the manuscript order of the verses—and made very reassuring sense of it. He renders the poem into the trochaic metre of the original Latin:

Loveless hearts shall love to-morrow, hearts that
have loved shall love anew.
Spring is young now, spring is singing, in the spring
the world first grew;
In the spring the birds are wedded, in the springtime
true hearts pair,
Under the rain of her lover's kisses loose the forest
flings her hair.

It is interesting to compare these flowing verses with Allen Tate's rendering into the more compressed iambic pentameter (Cummington, Mass.: Cummington Press, 1943):

Tomorrow let loveless, let lover tomorrow make love:
O spring, singing spring, spring of the world renew!
In spring lovers consent and the birds marry
When the grove receives in her hair the nuptial dew.
Tomorrow may loveless, may lover tomorrow make love.

BARBARA P. MCCARTHY

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Plato's Life and Thought, with a Translation of the Seventh Letter. By R. S. BLUCK. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1949. Pp. 200. 8s. 6d.

Bluck's volume should be beneficial and interesting to all who wish a brief survey of the interpretation of Platonic thought as developed by several British scholars. Part I discusses the life of Plato, enlarging upon the political vicissitudes of Syracuse. Part II selects the main philosophical concepts of twenty-two dialogues, giving the approximate dates of composition. Bluck then adds a translation of the *Seventh Letter*. The notes (two and one-half pages) and bibliography (one and one-half pages) are at a minimum.

Several cautions to the general reader are in place, however. The approximate dates assigned to the dialogues, as well as their chronological order, are mainly assumptions. Bluck bases his interpretation of Platonic thought and its development primarily on Cornford, Hackforth, and Howland, while he disagrees on major points with Burnet, Taylor (e.g., Platonic versus historical Socrates), and Cherniss (e.g., Idea-numbers).

The author is inclined to read polemical elements into the dialogues. He follows Howland in considering the *Phaedrus* "primarily as a direct and comprehensive attack on the educational system of Isocrates" (pp. 35 and 112). According to Bluck, "the *Protagoras* is to some extent directed against Isocrates" (p. 66), "the *Gorgias* was bound to be taken by Athenian readers, and must have been meant, as to some extent a condemnation of Isocrates' school" (p. 34), "and the reference is almost certainly to Isocrates" (p. 64) when Plato mentions in the *Enthydemus* "a man who thinks himself very clever, one of those who are very good at writing speeches for the law-courts" (304d).

It is interesting to note that in spite of stressing the possible polemical features and attempting to explain "the purpose of the dialogues" (p. 7), Bluck affirms: "We must regard the composition of the dialogues, including the *Republic*, . . . as a spare-time hobby to which the writer attributed very little importance" (p. 33). "Undoubtedly Plato regarded his own written works, no less than those of others, as but the outcome of an agreeable pastime, of no serious value" (p. 114).

The translation of the *Seventh Letter* is in idiomatic English. It is based on the text of Bluck's edition (published in 1947); this varies in only a few instances from Burnet's Oxford text.

ROBERT GEORGE HOERBER

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Das Urchristentum im Rahmen der antiken Religionen.

By RUDOLF BULTMANN. Zürich: Artemis-Verlag, 1949. Pp. 263. S. Fr. 11.80.

Professor Bultmann of Marburg, known principally for his rigorous application of the *formgeschichtliche Methode* to the investigation of the Gospels, has here given both classical and Biblical scholars an admirably succinct and authoritative treatment of the background of early Christianity. The main *loci* of his treatment are, as one would expect, the Old Testament heritage, the development of Judaism during the intertestamental period, the Greek heritage, and Hellenism, including under this last topic a consideration of Stoicism, popular astrological beliefs and superstitions, the mystery re-

ligions, and Gnosticism. Within this framework Bultmann develops his interpretation of the nature of early Christianity—that although it was in many respects a syncretistic religion, its essential and distinguishing contribution was the characteristically new and basic view of human existence. Unlike the optimistic Greek tradition, which held that if a man knew the good he would (almost certainly) perform it, early Christianity observed the prevailing infirmity of the will and interpreted it as a deliberate and culpable defection from the pure will of God. Being enslaved by the demonic powers of the flesh and the world, the Christian found release and reorientation of his life when confronted with the gracious purpose of God revealed in the person and work of Jesus of Nazareth.

On the whole Bultmann's little volume is more satisfactory in delineating the *Sitz im Leben* of the early Christian Church than in synthesizing and interpreting the essential doctrines of the New Testament. On the one hand, Bultmann has succeeded in compressing and portraying in proper proportion all the major streams of Jewish and pagan thought during the early Christian centuries. On the other hand, within the orbit of distinctive New Testament theology, he unwarrantably minimizes the mystical significance of the regulative Pauline concept of the Christian's being "in Christ" (p. 220), and also neglects to point out the large area of agreement between Pauline theology and the primitive Christian *kerygma* shared by all representative groups within early Christianity.

Apart from these strictures, however, the classicist will find Bultmann's book a suggestive synthesis of the *Weltanschauung* of the ordinary man in the early Christian centuries.

BRUCE M. METZGER

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

Das versunkene Volk: Welt und Land der Etrusker.

By SIBYLLE CLES-REDEN. Innsbruck: Margarete Friedrich Rohrer-Verlag, 1948. Pp. 190; 69 plates. DM 19.35.

This book is meant to let open-minded readers share the author's deep and sincere feeling of attachment to the Etruscans and Etruria. Its strong point is its sixty-nine photographs, of which fifty-two were taken for the purpose by E. Haas; they include characteristic scenery, specimens of Etruscan art, and, in deference to a fashion that still seems to have followers, portrait studies of the present-day citizenry, confronted with ancient sculptures and tomb-painting, to demonstrate the permanence of Tuscan man. The pictures are excellent and splendidly suited to awaken interest. Although they did not have

to be in any sense representative, since it is precisely the personal character of the selection which contributes to its charm, one may regret that no engraved gems are shown, or that sculptures of the warrior type are missing.

The text is rather uneven. There are descriptive passages based on personal knowledge and experience in which the writer succeeds well. There are also reports—far from pretentious, but also quite uncritical—on the vast speculative material which scholarship of every description has produced in connection with the so-called Etruscan question. The whole is shot through with little inaccuracies from the annoying *satyrisch* (p. 14), *Physionomie* (p. 116), *Alphabet* (*bis*, p. 181) variety to the frontispiece map on which "original Etruscan place names" are marked in a special way: among them are Kyme and Posidonia. The dice with the numerals are from Tuscania (Toscanella), not from Magliano (p. 180), the tablet with the twenty-six letter alphabet from Marsigliana d'Albegna rather than from Vetulonia (p. 181), and so on.

As it happens, Miss Cles-Reden's book appeared exactly one hundred years after the first edition of another travel work, George Dennis' *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*. The latter contains no reflections on Aegaeae *Weltgefühl* (cf. the present work, p. 39) and the like, but it does offer a wealth of information for which scholars still quote it; moreover, written as it was for "those swarms of our countrymen who annually traverse that classic region," it is delightful reading. Miss Cles-Reden includes J. J. Bachofen, but not Dennis in her bibliographical list.

HENRY M. HOENIGSWALD

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Latin and Greek in Current Use. By ELI E. BURRIS and LIONEL CASSON. 2d ed.; New York: Prentice-Hall, 1949. Pp. xi, 292. \$3.25.

For several years the late Professor Burris, Professor Casson, and their colleagues at New York University have been giving a highly successful course in the Latin and Greek elements in English; and it is actual teaching experience that has suggested the modifications which appear in the revised edition of their textbook.

The plan of the book, in both editions, is as follows: There are two major sections, the one dealing with Latin, the other with Greek. After introductory and historical material, there are lessons on nouns, verbs, etc., and on word formation. Etymological notes and exercises in word-analysis form a part of the lessons. A Latin-English vocabulary follows the first section, a Greek-English vocabulary the second section.

In the new edition, one finds that the several chapters

and lessons have been in general re-written, with little change in basic approach, but with much alteration of small details. The exercises are now more useful; the illustrative sentences are better chosen; the etymological notes are more interesting; and the introduction of more roots of importance for scientific terminology has widened the scope of the book.

Throughout the Greek section, Greek words now appear in Greek type as well as in English transliteration, and verbs are given in the infinitive form, instead of in the first person singular.

An index of all English words treated in the book is an added feature. In spite of this addition, the volume is of approximately the same over-all size as before; for the total number of lessons in each section has been reduced, the English-Latin and English-Greek vocabularies have been omitted, and thinner paper has been employed.

Indubitably this revised version of the book is a great improvement on the edition of 1939; but it leaves one still wondering upon what basis (frequency lists, word counts, etymological studies?) the Latin and Greek words of the vocabularies were chosen.

LILLIAN B. LAWLER

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Tertullian's Treatise against Praxeas. Edited, with an Introduction, Translation, and Commentary, by ERNEST EVANS. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1948. Pp. viii, 342. 21s.

Of all the patristic writers Tertullian is possibly the most virile in the clamorous passion of his polemics, in his forensic skill in expression and diatribe—which leads him not infrequently into unwarranted vituperation and condemnation—and in the pliancy of his Latinity. Although the treatise against Praxeas has been available in English translation for some years, the present edition offers the Latin text, a fresh English rendering, and an exhaustive commentary.

In the Introduction, running to some eighty-five pages, Dr. Evans covers the life and work of Tertullian, examines the Monarchian controversy, the context of the *Praxeas*, and Tertullian's theological terminology, and briefly notes the textual and manuscript traditions. The text used follows manuscript authorities, but Dr. Evans so adjusts the punctuation as to clarify hitherto obscure or meaningless passages: he also makes some ten conjectures of his own.

The Commentary, which is particularly full in the treatment of theological terms and in references to the Fathers and to Hebrew and Greek parallels, will serve as an excellent introduction to patristic writings.

The translation is vigorous, but marked by a tendency to expansions and intrusions intended to clarify. It would appear, rather, that Tertullian's terseness and his seemingly brusque transitions would more readily fall into the style of Carlyle. Although the matter of the treatise is completely theological in import, there is interest for the general classical student in Tertullian's verbal usages, his telescopic, spissated condensations, and the interpretative and linguistic analogies cited by Dr. Evans.

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NOTES AND NEWS

This department deals with events of interest to classicists; the contribution of pertinent items is welcomed. Also welcome are items for the section of *Personalia*, which deals with appointments, promotions, fellowships, and other professionally significant activities of our colleagues in high schools, colleges, and universities.

New York University held its seventeenth annual **Foreign Language Conference** on Saturday, November 4, 1950, reports Professor Lillian B. Lawler of Hunter College. The Conference was held under the chairmanship of Professor Henri C. Olinger, and with the cooperation of local chapters of various foreign language teachers' associations. At the general assembly the chief speakers were Dr. Theodore Huebener of the U. S. Department of State, formerly Director of Foreign Languages in the high schools of New York City, and Professor Mario Pei of Columbia University. Dr. Huebener's vivid account of educational work being done by our government in Germany was entitled "Language, the Ideological Weapon in Europe." He stressed the great need in that work of Americans who are able to use foreign languages fluently. Professor Pei used as his topic the conference theme, "Foreign Languages for Life Adjustment." After the general assembly, the conference broke up into seven special panels. The Latin panel was under the chairmanship of Professor Lawler; its secretary was Dr. Emory E. Cochran of Fort Hamilton High School, Brooklyn, New York. The chairman and the two speakers of the panel, Dr. Lillian Corrigan of Hunter College High School and Professor Shirley Smith of the New Jersey College for Women, emphasized the importance of working with rather than against professional educators who are in important positions in our schools, and suggested practical ways in which Latin may be taught for "life adjustment."

The New Jersey Classical Association met in the Haddon Hall Hotel, Atlantic City, on Saturday, November 11, 1950, reports Miss Evelyn F. Porter of the Jonathan Dayton Regional High School, President of the Association. Speakers at the meeting were Professor Gilbert Highet of Columbia University, who spoke on "How the Classics Reached Us," and Mr. Richard Carr of Glen Ridge High School, whose topic was "Rome in Technicolor." After the meeting there was a joint luncheon with the New Jersey Modern Language Teachers Association.

AMERICAN ACADEMY IN ROME ROME PRIZE FELLOWSHIPS, 1951-1952

The American Academy in Rome is again offering a limited number of fellowships for mature students and artists capable of doing independent work in architecture, landscape architecture, musical composition, painting, sculpture, history of art, and classical studies. Fellowships will be awarded on evidence of ability and achievement, and are open to citizens of the United States for one year beginning October 1, 1951, with a possibility of renewal. Research fellowships, offered in classical studies and art history, carry a stipend of \$2,500 a year and free residence at the Academy. All other fellowships carry a stipend of \$1,250 a year, transportation from New York to Rome and return, studio space, free residence at the Academy, and an additional allowance for European travel. Applications and submissions of work, in the form prescribed, must be received at the Academy's New York office by February 1, 1951. Requests for details should be addressed to the Executive Secretary, American Academy in Rome, 101 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Here are listed all books received by THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY the subjects of which are deemed to fall within the WEEKLY's scope. Listing here neither precludes nor assures a subsequent review. Books received will not be returned, whether or not they are listed or reviewed.

ATZERT, C. (ed.). *De Officiis* (3d ed.); AX, W. (ed.). *De Virtutibus* (2d ed.). (= *M. Tulli Ciceronis Scripta Quae Manserunt Omnia*, Fasc. 48.) Leipzig: Teubner, 1949. Pp. xlii, 189. \$3.07.

BARLOW, CLAUDE W. (ed.). *Martini Episcopi Bracaren-sis Opera Omnia*. ("American Academy in Rome, Papers and Monographs," Vol. XII.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. Pp. xii, 328. \$3.50.

BEYENKA, SISTER MARY MELCHIOR. *Consolation in Saint Augustine*. ("The Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies," Vol. LXXXIII.) Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1950. Pp. xxiii, 115. \$1.50.

BOLLING, GEORGE MELVILLE (ed.). *Ilias Atheniensium: The Athenian Iliad of the Sixth Century B. C.* (Special Publication of the American Philological Association, with the cooperation of the Linguistic Society of America.) Lancaster, Pa.: Lancaster Press, 1950. Pp. x, 18; Greek text not paginated. \$5.00.

BONNER, CAMPBELL. *Studies in Magical Amulets, Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian*. ("University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series," No. 49.) Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1950. Pp. xxiv, 335; 25 plates. \$12.50.

CASSON, LIONEL, and HETTICH, ERNEST L. *Excavations at Nessana*. Vol. II: "Literary Papyri." Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950. Pp. xiv, 177; 8 plates. \$7.50.

DEFERRARI, ROY J., and SISTER FRANCIS JOSEPH. *Third Year Latin: Roman Rhetoric and Oratory*. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1950. Pp. x, 415.

DIEHL, ERNESTUS (ed.). *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*: Fasc. 2, Theognis, ps.-Pythagoras, ps.-Phocylides, Chares, Anonymi Aulodia. 3d ed.; Leipzig: Teubner, 1950. Pp. viii, 116. \$1.97.

ELLSPERMANN, GERARD L. *The Attitude of the Early Christian Latin Writers toward Pagan Literature and Learning*. ("The Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies," Vol. LXXXII.) Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1949. Pp. xxviii, 267. \$3.00.

FIGUEROA, REV. GREGORY. *The Church and the Synagogue in St. Ambrose*. ("The Catholic University of America, Studies in Sacred Theology, Second Series," No. 25.) Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1949. Pp. xxiv, 47. \$1.00.

FULLWOOD, N. (ed.). *Cicero on Himself: Selections from the Works of Cicero Illustrating His Life and Character*. ("Alpha Classics.") London: Bell, 1950. Pp. viii, 117; 7 plates. 3s.

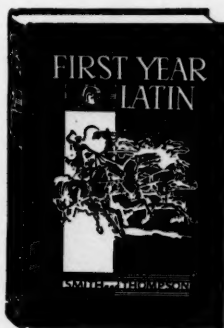
GOW, A. S. F. (ed. and trans.). *Theocritus*. Vol. I: Introduction, Text, and Translation; Vol. II: Commentary, Appendix, Indexes, and Plates. Cambridge: University Press, 1950. Pp. lxxxiv, 257; viii, 638; 15 plates. \$12.50.

GRANT, MICHAEL. *Aspects of the Principate of Tiberius: Historical Comments on the Colonial Coinage Issued outside Spain*. ("Numismatic Notes and Monographs," No. 116.) New York: American Numismatic Society, 1950. Pp. xviii, 199; 8 plates. \$5.00.

HEMBERG, BENGT. *Die Kabiren*. (Diss., Uppsala.) Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1950. Pp. 420.

- JUNG, C. G., and KERÉNYI, C. *Essays on a Science of Mythology: The Myth of the Divine Child and the Mysteries of Eleusis*. Translated by R. F. C. Hull. ("The Bollingen Series," No. 22.) New York: Pantheon Books, 1949. Pp. vii, 289; 5 plates. \$4.00.
- KURFESS, ALPHONSUS (ed.). *Appendix Sallustiana*: Fasc. 1, *Epistulae ad Caesarem Senem de Re Publica* (3d ed.); Fasc. 2, *In Ciceronem et Invicem Invektivae* (2d ed.). Leipzig: Teubner, 1950. Pp. viii, 28; vi, 25. \$0.60, \$0.57.
- MAGIE, DAVID. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ*. Vol. I: Text; Vol. II: Notes. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950. Pp. xxi, 1663. \$20.00.
- MARMORALE, ENZO V. *Giovenale*. ("Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna," No. 474.) 2d ed.; Bari: Laterza, 1950. Pp. 203. L. 700.
- MCDONALD, SISTER MARY FRANCIS (ed. and trans.). *Saint Augustine's De Fide Rerum Quae Non Videntur: A Critical Text and Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. ("The Catholic University of America, Patristic Studies," Vol. LXXXIV.) Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1950. Pp. xvi, 147. \$1.75.
- MINIO-PALUELLO, L. (ed.). *Aristotelis Categoriae et Liber de Interpretatione*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949. Pp. xxiii, 96.
- NOE, SYDNEY P. *The Alexander Coinage of Sicyon*. Arranged from notes of Edward T. Newell, with comments and additions. ("Numismatic Studies," No. 6.) New York: American Numismatic Society, 1950. Pp. 43; 18 plates. \$3.50.
- PLEZIA, MARIAN. *De Commentariis Isagogicis*. ("Pol-ska Akademia Umiejetnosci, Archiwum Filologiczne," No. 23.) Cracow: Polska Akademia Umiejetnosci, 1949. Pp. 112.
- POHLENZ, MAX. *Der hellenische Mensch*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1947. Pp. 478; 17 plates. DM 21.
- REGENBOGEN, OTTO. (trans.). *Thukydides: Politische Reden*. Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, 1949. Pp. 290. DM 5.40.
- SCOTT, HARRY F., GUMMERE, JOHN F., and HORN, ANNABEL. *Using Latin: Book Two*. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1950. Pp. 447.
- STRÖMBERG, REINHOLD. *Grekiska Ordspåk: En Antologi översatt och försedd med korta Förklaringar*. Göteborg: Wettergren & Kerbers Förlag, 1949. Pp. 62. Sw. Cr. 7.
- VOGEL, C. J. DE (ed.). *Greek Philosophy: A Collection of Texts*. Vol. I: Thales to Plato. Leiden: Brill, 1950. Pp. xi, 319. 19 guilders.
- Yale Classical Studies*, Vol. XI. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. Pp. v, 316; 1 plate. \$4.00.

LATIN AND WORLD PEACE



The war and the efforts for peace both prove the importance of language study, and the parent language, Latin, has profited, for the sales of Latin books have increased.

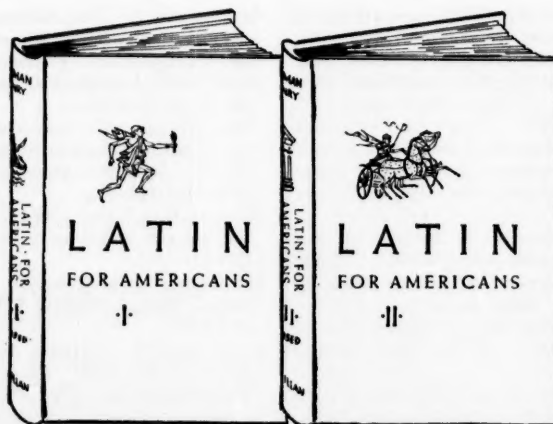
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